

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE
ON DISARMAMENT

ENDC/PV.395
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COLLECTION

FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIFTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Tuesday, 18 March 1969, at 3 p.m.

Chairman:

U CHIT MYAING

(Burma)

GE.69-6366

69-35274

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. S.A. FRAZAO
Mr. C.A. de SOUZA e SILVA
Mr. P.C. de MELO
Mr. L.F. PALMEIRA LAMPREIA

Bulgaria:

Mr. K. CHRISTOV
Mr. M. KARASSIMEONOV
Mr. B. KONSTANTINOV
Mr. I. PENNIRDJIEV

Burma:

U CHIT MYAING
U KYAW MIN

Canada:

Mr. G. IGNATIEFF
Mr. A.G. CAMPBELL
Mr. J.R. MORDEN

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. T. LAHODA
Mr. V. SAFAR
Mr. J. STRUCKA

Ethiopia:

Mr. A. ZELLEKE

India:

Mr. M.A. HUSAIN
Mr. N. KRISHNAN
Mr. K.P. JAIN

Italy:

Mr. R. CARACCIOLO
Mr. F.L. OTTIERI
Mr. R. BOSSARELLI
Mr. U. PESTALOZZA

Mexico:

Mr. A. GARCÍA ROBLES
Mr. M. TELLO
Mr. H. CARDENAS RODRIGUEZ

Nigeria:

Alhaji SULE KOLO
Mr. C.O. HOLLIST
Mr. L.A. MALIKI

Poland:

Mr. H. JAROSZEK

Mr. K. ZYBYLSKI

Mr. H. STEPOSZ

Mr. R. WLAZLO

Romania:

Mr. N. ECOBESCO

Mr. V. TARZIORU

Mr. C. GEORGESCO

Mr. C. MITRAN

Sweden:

Mr. A. EDELSTAM

Mr. R. BOMAN

Mr. U. ERICSSON

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics:

Mr. A.A. ROSHCIN

Mr. O.A. GRINEVSKY

Mr. I.I. TCHEPROV

Mr. N.S. KISHILOV

United Arab Republic:

Mr. H. KHALIAF

Mr. O. SIRRY

Mr. M. ISMAIL

United Kingdom:

Mr. I.F. PORTER

Mr. W.N. HILLIER-FRY

Mr. M.E. HOWELL

United States of America:

Mr. G.C. SMITH

Mr. C. GLEYSTEN

Mr. L.D. WEILER

Mr. W. GIVAN

Special Representative of the
Secretary-General:

Mr. D. PROTITCH

Deputy Special Representative of the
Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

Director-General of the United
Nations Office at Geneva:

Mr. V. WINSPEARE GUICCIARDI

1. The CHAIRMAN (Burma): I declare open the 395th plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. In accordance with established practice on the resumption of the work of the Conference, the first part of this meeting will be open.
2. I call on Mr. Protitch, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
3. Mr. PROTITCH (Special Representative of the Secretary-General): On behalf of Secretary-General U Thant, I have the pleasure of welcoming once again to the Palais des Nations the delegations participating in the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.
4. I also have the honour to convey to the Conference the following message from the Secretary-General:

"On this occasion, when the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament reconvenes in Geneva to continue its essential task, it is my privilege once again to welcome its participants to the Palais des Nations.

"As I review the present situation in disarmament, I cannot fail to voice some satisfaction over what has been achieved in the course of 1968, as a result of long and patient efforts. I am referring, of course, to the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.^{1/} Almost ninety countries have signed the Treaty and the process of ratification is under way in a number of them. The widest possible adherence to the Treaty, as was called for by the General Assembly in resolution 2373 (XXII), which commended the Treaty, would provide a sound means for preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons, and also provide the world community with the framework for bringing the nuclear arms race progressively under control.

"At the same time, I cannot conceal my deep concern about the state of the continuing arms race and the very difficult problems that remain to be solved. The agenda that the Eighteen-Nation Committee unanimously adopted on 15 August 1968^{2/}, together with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-third session, which are before you^{3/}, demonstrate all too clearly how vast is the uncharted ground that still lies ahead.

^{1/} General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII), Annex

^{2/} ENDC/236

^{3/} ENDC/237

(Mr. Protitch)

"The Non-Proliferation Treaty includes a provision by which the parties undertake to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. In addition, the General Assembly requested the Eighteen-Nation Committee, in resolution 2454 B (XXIII), to make renewed efforts towards achieving progress on the question of general and complete disarmament and to continue its urgent efforts to negotiate collateral efforts of disarmament. In resolution 2455 (XXIII) the General Assembly singled out one important collateral measure and requested the Eighteen-Nation Committee to take up, as a matter of urgency, the elaboration of a treaty banning underground nuclear-weapon tests. I trust that the Committee will undertake negotiations with a view to achieving rapid progress in these areas...

"The Committee is certainly aware that its task is becoming increasingly urgent in view of new developments in the arms race. As I have pointed out on many recent occasions, in spite of the arms control achievements in the last few years, there has been no reversal or even slowing down of the nuclear arms race. On the contrary, global expenditures for military purposes have reached new record-high levels. It is estimated that since 1962, when I submitted the Report on the Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament^{4/}, the yearly world military outlay has increased from about \$120 billion to more than \$180 billion. The rate of increase in military expenditures in recent years has been even more rapid than the growth of world gross national product. Moreover, as everyone knows, if plans currently under discussion for the development of new offensive and defensive weapon systems should be implemented, they could lead to a massive new escalation both in military expenditures and in nuclear weaponry.

"I would therefore wish to draw attention to resolution 2456 D (XXIII), one of the four resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in connexion with its review of the results of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States. By that resolution, which was adopted with 108 affirmative votes, including those of all

(Mr. Protitch)

the participants in the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, the General Assembly urged the Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States to enter at an early date into the projected bilateral discussions on the limitation of offensive strategic nuclear-weapon delivery systems and systems of defence against ballistic missiles. The General Assembly thus recognized that it was in the world's interest to encourage bilateral negotiations on this question in order to prevent the dangers and enormous expense of a new spiral in the nuclear missile race. It is my fervent hope that it will be possible for the two great Powers to begin their talks at an early date.

"In its agenda of 15 August 1968, the Eighteen-Nation Committee rightly reserved an important place not only for nuclear measures of disarmament but also for non-nuclear measures, such as those connected with chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, as well as for other collateral measures of disarmament, including the prevention of an arms race on the sea-bed.

"Later in the year, I hope to submit to the Eighteen-Nation Committee, by 1 July if possible, as requested by General Assembly resolution 2454 A (XXIII), the report on chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons that I am preparing with the assistance of a group of consultant experts. As I wrote in the Introduction to my Annual Report on the Work of the Organization last September, I feel that too little attention has been devoted in recent years to these dreaded weapons, with their appalling capability to inflict suffering, disease and death to ever larger numbers of human beings.

"I have always regarded the sea-bed and the ocean floor, as I do outer space, as areas which must be excluded from the arms race, which has already engulfed most of the earth. There is no evidence that by extending it to other areas which are not yet armed, the security of the world will be increased; indeed, the evidence points in the opposite direction. Accordingly, I hope that the Committee, in conformity with point three of its agenda, will take steps which would help to prevent the arms race from spreading to the sea-bed and ocean floor.

(Mr. Protitch)

"Disarmament is a most complex, as well as vital, problem for which there is no single solution. Progress can be achieved only by the converging and continuing efforts of all concerned. The essential task is to persevere and to move ahead in whatever areas progress is possible. I trust that this is also the firm resolution of the Committee.

"It is my pleasure to convey to all the members of the Committee my most earnest and heartfelt wishes for success in this task."

5. The CHAIRMAN (Burma): I am sure I speak for all the members of the Committee in requesting Mr. Protitch to convey to the Secretary-General our profound thanks for the wise words and good wishes in his message to the Conference.

6. I now call upon the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, one of the co-Chairmen of the Conference.

7. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): We have listened with great interest and attention to the very detailed message of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. I should like on behalf of the Soviet delegation, through the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Protitch, to convey to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, our gratitude for his warm words of welcome and his wishes for success in the work of our Committee.

8. I should like to read out a message dated 18 March 1969 from the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC/238). The message reads as follows:

"On behalf of the Soviet Government I greet the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and wish it success in its work.

"To reduce the danger of armed conflict and avert the threat of a world thermo-nuclear war, the Soviet Government is making persistent efforts to stop the arms race and to achieve disarmament. Since the emergency of nuclear weapons the Soviet Union has firmly and consistently proclaimed that mankind must be delivered from the nuclear menace.

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

"The drafting and signing of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was a signal success in the struggle by States to bring about disarmament. The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament has contributed greatly to the solution of this problem.

"We note with satisfaction that over eighty countries have signed this Treaty. Now the task is to ensure that the Treaty enters into force as soon as possible.

"The conclusion of the Non-Proliferation Treaty opens prospects for the achievement of international agreements on other matters, including the vitally important matter of nuclear disarmament.

"The Soviet Government is well known to attach great significance to the provisions of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, under which the Parties undertake to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race and to nuclear disarmament. It sent to all governments and placed on the agenda of the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly a Memorandum on Some Urgent Measures for Stopping the Arms Race and for Achieving Disarmament.^{5/}

"The peoples are concerned at the continuance of the nuclear arms race. We deem it important to find without delay ways of reaching agreement primarily on the non-use of nuclear weapons, and on other measures of nuclear disarmament. The solution of these problems would undoubtedly contribute much to the efforts to end the arms race, and would help to remove the threat of nuclear war.

"It is also of the greatest importance to agree that the sea-bed and the ocean floor shall not be used for military purposes but shall remain a sphere for man's peaceful activities. For this purpose the Soviet Union is submitting for the consideration of the Eighteen-Nation Committee a draft treaty prohibiting the use for military purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof.^{6/}

^{5/} A/7481, ENDC/227

^{6/} ENDC/240

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

"Solutions must also be found to the vitally important problems of cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, the reduction and destruction of their stockpiles, the limitation and subsequent reduction of means of delivery of strategic weapons, the prohibition of chemical and bacteriological warfare, and others. We believe that consideration by the Eighteen-Nation Committee of the relevant proposals contained in the Memorandum of the Soviet Government would facilitate the solution of these major problems.

"Permit me to express the hope that the Committee's work will yield practical results in ending the arms race and moving forward to disarmament.

"May the activities of the Eighteen-Nation Committee be guided at all times by the peoples' desire that any international tensions shall be relaxed and world peace ensured.

"Respectfully,

A Kosygin

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR"

9. I ask leave to take this opportunity to convey our delegation's greetings and congratulations to the newly-appointed representatives in the Eighteen-Nation Committee: the co-Chairman of the Committee, the representative of the United States, Mr. Gerard Smith; the representative of Brazil, Mr. Sergio Armando Frazar; the representative of Canada, Mr. George Ignatieff; and the representative of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Milan Klusak. We should also like to welcome the representative of Mexico, Mr. Garcia Robles, who is returning to the Committee. We also welcome the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Protitch, who has just read out to us a message from the Secretary-General of the United Nations; his Deputy Special Representative, Mr. Epstein; and the members of the Secretariat who fulfil a very important function contributing to the accomplishment of the work entrusted to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

10. The CHAIRMAN (Burma): I should like to thank the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the message from Mr. Aleksei N. Kosygin, which I am sure all members of the Committee will study with great care.

11. I now call on the representative of the United States of America, the other co-Chairman of our Conference.

12. Mr. SMITH (United States of America): On behalf of the United States delegation, I would like to ask Dr. Protitch to convey to the Secretary-General our thanks for his message. I would like also to express my appreciation to Dr. Protitch and to the United Nations Secretariat for their hospitality in making available once again the fine services for this Conference.
13. On behalf of the co-Chairman, the United States delegation would like to welcome the other new representatives: the Brazilian representative, Ambassador Armando Frazao; the Canadian representative, Ambassador Ignatieff; and the Czechoslovakian representative, Ambassador Klusak. My delegation would also like to welcome the return, after an absence, of the Mexican representative, Ambassador Garcia Robles.
14. I have listened with attention to my co-Chairman, Mr. Roshchin, as he read the message from Chairman Kosygin.
15. As this is my first meeting in this Committee, may I take this opportunity to express my pleasure in beginning my association with the various representatives at this Conference, which is the world's principal forum for multilateral negotiations on arms control and disarmament. I have a deep sense of awareness of the personal responsibilities of those who have the task and privilege of seeking progress in this field.
16. I have been asked by the President of the United States of America to convey to this Conference the letter of instructions which he gave to me at the White House on March 15. I would like at this time to read this letter and ask that it be made a Conference document^{I/}:

"Dear Ambassador Smith,

"In view of the great importance which I attach to the work of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference in Geneva, I wish to address directly to you, as the new Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the Head of our delegation, my instructions regarding the participation of the United States in this Conference.

"The fundamental objective of the United States is a world of enduring peace and justice, in which the differences that separate nations can be resolved without resort to war.

(Mr. Smith, United States)

"Our immediate objective is to leave behind the period of confrontation and to enter an era of negotiation.

"The task of the delegation of the United States to the Disarmament Conference is to serve these objectives by pursuing negotiations to achieve concrete measures which will enhance the security of our own country and all countries.

"The new Administration has now considered the policies which will help us to make progress in this endeavour.

"I have decided that the delegation of the United States should take these positions at the Conference.

"First, in order to assure that the sea-bed, man's latest frontier, remains free from the nuclear arms race, the United States delegation should indicate that the United States is interested in working out an international agreement that would prohibit the emplacement or fixing of nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed. To this end, the United States delegation should seek discussion of the factors necessary for such an international agreement. Such an agreement would, like the Antarctic Treaty and the Treaty on outer space^{8/} which are already in effect, prevent an arms race before it has a chance to start. It would ensure that this potentially useful area of the world remained available for peaceful purposes.

"Second, the United States supports the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban adequately verified. In view of the fact that differences regarding verification have not permitted achievement of this key arms control measure, efforts must be made towards greater understanding of the verification issue.

"Third, the United States delegation will continue to press for an agreement to cut off the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes and to transfer such materials to peaceful purposes.

"Fourth, while awaiting the United Nations Secretary-General's study on the effects of chemical and biological warfare, the United States delegation should join with other delegations in exploring any proposals or ideas that could contribute to sound and effective arms control relating to these weapons.

"Fifth, regarding more extensive measures of disarmament, both nuclear and conventional, the United States delegation should be guided by the understanding that actual reduction of armaments, and not merely limiting their growth or spread, remains our goal.

^{8/} General Assembly resolution 2222/XXI

(Mr. Smith, United States)

"Sixth, regarding the question of talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic arms, the United States hopes that the international political situation will evolve in a way which will permit such talks to begin in the near future.

"In carrying out these instructions, the United States delegation should keep in mind my view that efforts toward peace by all nations must be comprehensive. We cannot have realistic hopes for significant progress in the control of arms if the policies of confrontation prevail throughout the world as the rule of international conduct. On the other hand, we must attempt to exploit every opportunity to build a world of peace -- to find areas of accord -- to bind countries together in co-operative endeavours.

"A major part of the work of peace is done by the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. I expect that all members of the United States delegation will devote that extra measure of determination, skill and judgement which this high task merits.

"I shall follow closely the progress that is made and give my personal consideration to any problems that arise whenever it would be helpful for me to do so.

"Please convey to all your colleagues my sincere wishes for success in our common endeavour. Over the years, their achievements at the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference have been outstanding. I am confident that in the future our efforts, in co-operation with theirs, will be equal to any challenge and will result in progress for the benefit of all.

"Sincerely,

Richard Nixon"

17. The CHAIRMAN (Burma): I should like to thank the representative of the United States for his statement and the message from President Nixon, which I am sure all members of the Committee will study with great care.

18. With the Committee's permission I should like now to say a few words as Chairman of today's meeting.

19. The session we are beginning today promises to be one of the most significant and crucial in the history of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, if not also one of the busiest. In addition to the comprehensive agenda (ENDC/236) which we ourselves adopted on 15 August 1968 (ENDC/PV.390, para.121), we have before us a number of very important resolutions by which the twenty-third session of the General Assembly has entrusted many specific and urgent tasks to our Committee (ENDC/237).

(The Chairman, Burma)

20. I think it would be fair to say that these resolutions, together with the discussion that preceded their adoption, clearly demonstrate the growing concern of the international community at the continuing armaments race, particularly in the nuclear field, and at its possible intensification and broadening into new areas. They are also an eloquent expression of humanity's rising expectation of timely measures to halt and reverse it. If these resolutions do indeed amount to a reaffirmation by the General Assembly of its continuing faith in the essential soundness and practicability of the idea of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, they also impose a heavy responsibility on us to exert ourselves anew towards achieving further progress in disarmament within a reasonable time.

21. If I may be permitted a contradiction in terms, a fluid impasse seems now to have developed in the disarmament situation, with possibilities of either a progressive movement towards disarmament and arms limitation or a breakthrough in the opposite direction. This will make our task at this session even more difficult and exacting. Of course, decisions are not made here and the extent to which we can influence events is necessarily limited. But I am confident that, with seven years' gainful experience behind it, the Committee, given favourable circumstances and good will on all sides, will be equal to this difficult and challenging task. Any progress achieved at this session will contribute, I am sure, towards the success of all future disarmament negotiations, on which mankind's survival so vitally depends.

22. Speaking as Chairman, I wish to say that we have now concluded the open part of this meeting. We shall have a five-minute recess, after which the Committee will resume its work in private.

The meeting was suspended at 3.40 p.m. and resumed at 3.45 p.m.

23. The CHAIRMAN (Burma): May I first of all welcome the Under-Secretary-General and Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva, Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi. I should also like to welcome back Mr. Protitch, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and Mr. Epstein, the Deputy Special Representative.

24. It also gives me great pleasure to welcome back all the old members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament whose familiar faces give this Committee a sense of continuity and a feeling of confidence in their experience and knowledge that will facilitate the success of our work.

(The Chairman, Burma)

25. The discussions and negotiations in this Committee have often been enriched and stimulated by the arrival of new leaders and members of delegations whose knowledge and experience elsewhere have brought a new insight into, and a new outlook towards, the complex and important problems with which we might deal. It is therefore with great pleasure that I welcome to this Committee all the newcomers, and in particular Mr. Smith, the leader of the United States delegation and a co-Chairman of our Conference; Ambassador Armando Frazao, the leader of the Brazilian delegation; Ambassador Ignatieff, the leader of the Canadian delegation; and Ambassador Klusak, the leader of the Czechoslovak delegation, who will be joining us next week.

26. I also am very happy to welcome back in our midst Ambassador Garcia Robles, the leader of the Mexican delegation, who has not been with us since early 1967.

27. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (translation from Spanish): Before I begin my statement, allow me to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and the two co-Chairmen of the

Committee most sincerely for your very kind words on my return to this Committee.

28. I should also like to associate myself with the welcome extended here to the representatives of Canada, Brazil, the United States and Czechoslovakia, and to mention especially the representative of the United States, Ambassador Gerard Smith, since he is to be one of the two co-Chairmen.

29. May I also be permitted to say that my delegation shares the satisfaction expressed here that we should have amongst us at this solemn opening of the 1969 session both the Director-General of the United Nations Office in Geneva, Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi, and the Special Representative and the Deputy Special Representative of Secretary-General U Thant, Mr. Protitch and Mr. Epstein.

30. The 1969 session of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which has just opened, may prove to be crucial for the development of negotiations on the all-important tasks entrusted to it, and may perhaps be decisive as regards the fate of the Committee itself.

31. We are meeting after a prolonged recess of almost seven months following a very short period of work of barely six weeks during which several representatives stressed the need not to repeat the experience of the last five years, when the concentration of attention upon one single matter implied the relative abandonment of all other matters.

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

32. The immediate background of the present session is to be found in the debates of the United Nations General Assembly, where there was much criticism and expression of frustration at the meagre results achieved so far, culminating in the clear warning implicit in the provision of General Assembly resolution 2456 A (XXIII) that the agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, which is to open in September of this year, should include "The question of convening early in 1970 a meeting of the United Nations Disarmament Commission to consider disarmament and the related question of the security of nations". (ENDC/237).

33. In those circumstances, which my delegation feels should act as a powerful stimulus in our deliberations, we believe that we should take as a starting point a brief recapitulation of some fundamental facts which, because they are so well known, we sometimes tend to forget, despite the fact that they undoubtedly hold the key to the urgent need to translate into action the great wealth of eloquent views and generous intentions expressed in this forum in the past seven years. These facts also explain why the community of nations considers that disarmament is not, and cannot be, a matter within the exclusive competence of the nuclear Powers and a few other States but that it is rather something in which the vital interests of all the peoples of the earth are involved. It is those facts which, in the final analysis, enable us to understand clearly the causes of the justified and growing impatience of world public opinion.

34. Since, as I have already stated, those are well-known facts and situations, the restatement of which does not imply anything new but is no more than a reminder which we believe it is essential to make in these initial stages of our work, I shall confine myself to listing them as briefly as I can. I shall endeavour thus successively to make clear what is the economic and social significance of the arms race, and consequently that of disarmament; what are the main reasons militating in favour of our taking very seriously the recommendation made by this Committee in August last to the effect that "first priority ... should be given to further effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race ... and to nuclear disarmament" (ENDC/236, p.3); what evaluation can be made of the results achieved by the Committee in the field of disarmament; and what are the main reasons for their paucity.

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

35. To conclude my exposition in such a manner as to make a constructive contribution, I shall venture to put forward some very modest suggestions concerning certain measures which might be taken to enhance the possibility that this year the Committee's work will be more effective. In order to have a clear idea of the depressing economic and social influence exerted by the arms race and the invaluable contribution which, in the same context -- the social and economic fields -- disarmament would imply for general progress, it should be sufficient to read and ponder upon the first two chapters of the report published last December by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency of the United States, entitled World Military Expenditures and Related Data. The introduction to that report is signed by a person who is well known to us all, the former Director of the Agency, Mr. William Foster, who was for several years a co-Chairman of this Committee. The paragraphs of the report to which I refer read as follows:

"Global expenditures for military purposes have reached a new record high level. From \$132 billion in 1964, they rose to \$138 billion in 1965, \$159 billion in 1966 and an estimated \$182 billion in 1967. Preliminary data suggest a continued rise in 1968. Since 1962, when UN experts estimated world military outlays at \$120 billion, the increase has been more than 50 per cent.

"Military spending today exceeds that of any prior period except the peak fighting years of World War II. Global military expenditures now take more than 7 per cent of the world's gross product. In money terms they are equivalent to the total annual income produced by the one billion people living in Latin America, South Asia and the Near East. They are greater by 40 per cent than world-wide expenditures on education by all levels of government and more than three times world-wide expenditures on public health" (World Military Expenditures, 1966-67, pp. 1-2).

36. The eloquence of these authentic figures is a sufficiently clear illustration, it seems to me, of the first of the questions to which I referred earlier; and thus, refraining from any other comment, I shall now turn to the second question.

37. In order to justify the reasons which make it imperative and urgent to comply with what was agreed by the Committee last August, namely to assign maximum priority to nuclear disarmament, in the view of my delegation it is necessary for members of

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

the Committee to have in mind at all times three points that are basic to this question: the destructive power of nuclear weapons, the magnitude of existing nuclear arsenals, and the effects that a nuclear war would undoubtedly have.

38. Concerning the first point, suffice it to recall that at present the weapon that is customarily considered "normal" among the thermonuclear weapons, that is, the 20-megaton bomb --- in other words, the bomb that is the equivalent of 20 million tons of dynamite --- develops an explosive force a thousand times greater than that of the bomb which was exploded on 6 August 1945 over Hiroshima and can make the largest cities in the world disappear from the face of the earth.

39. As to the arsenals already at the disposal of the nuclear Powers, it suffices to reflect on the fact that since 1967 -- two years ago -- it was stated in the Committee, and was not contradicted, that the magnitude of nuclear arsenals existing at the time was such that if a bomb having a force equivalent to the explosive energy used in the whole of the Second World War were to be exploded daily, available nuclear weapons would be sufficient for 52,000 days, or over 140 years. In other words, the amount of nuclear explosive accumulated by 1967 -- and undoubtedly the figure must be much higher today -- was 52,000 times the whole of the explosive force used in the last world war.

40. Starting from these two premises, it is easy to forecast the incalculable consequences of a nuclear war. In order to give an idea of those consequences, I shall use the statement that we find in the report of the Consultative Group appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the effects of the possible utilization of nuclear weapons. The widest distribution of that report was recommended by the General Assembly to all governments in its resolution 2342 (XXII). This report, incidentally, stressed the impossibility of drawing essential distinctions between nuclear weapons known as "strategic" weapons and the so-called "tactical" weapons, as also between those for which the designations "clean" and "unclean" respectively have been coined. The Committee of Experts emphatically declared that -

"There is one inescapable and basic fact. It is that the nuclear armouries which are in being already contain large megaton weapons every one of which has a destructive power greater than that of all the conventional explosive that has ever been used in warfare since the day gunpowder was discovered. Were such weapons ever to be used in numbers, hundreds of millions of people might

(Mr. Garcia Robles, Mexico)

be killed, and civilization as we know it, as well as organized community life, would inevitably come to an end in the countries involved in the conflict. Many of those who survived the immediate destruction, as well as others in countries outside the area of conflict, would be exposed to widely-spreading radio-active contamination, and would suffer from long-term effects of irradiation and transmit, to their offspring, a genetic burden which would become manifest in the disabilities of later generations." (A/6858, para. 1)

41. It was facts and considerations such as those I have just mentioned which also prompted Arnold Toynbee in 1967 to formulate the following judgments which, to my mind, are extremely pertinent and complete the consideration of the aspect of the problem to which I am referring:

"Each time in the past that a new weapon was invented, people would say that it was so terrible that it should not be used and yet it was used, and however terrible it did not destroy the human race. But now we are in possession of something that could in actual fact destroy life on our planet. Mankind has not found itself in a similar situation since the end of the paleolithic period. It was then when we were able to master lions, tigers and other similar beasts. From that time on the survival of the human species appeared to be ensured. But since 1945 our survival has again become uncertain because, so to speak, we have become our own lions and tigers. In truth, the threat to mankind's survival has become much greater since 1945 than it ever was in the first million years of history."

42. To turn now to the third question which, as I said earlier, we believe it would be of special interest to consider, it is worth asking ourselves, as has been done so often in the United Nations and outside it what has this Committee on Disarmament achieved so far in relation to that subject which appears in its designation and which, by definition, constitutes the justification of its existence?

43. The reply, however painful to the members of the Committee, is that it has achieved very little. Three of the main treaties closely connected with disarmament -- the Treaty of Tlatelolco (ENDC/186) on the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America, the Treaty on the peaceful uses of outer space (General Assembly resolution 2222 (XXI), Annex) and the Antarctica Treaty -- were drawn up by bodies quite unconnected with the Committee and have entered into force without any action by the Committee. Concerning a fourth instrument, the Moscow Treaty on the partial

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prohibition of nuclear tests (ENDC/100/Rev.1): the memorandum (ENDC/28) presented by the eight non-aligned States to the Committee on 16 April 1962 and the debates held in the Committee for rather less than a year from that date undeniably had an influence; but it was the three nuclear Powers meeting in the capital of the Soviet Union which drew up the text of the Treaty and signed it on 5 August 1963.

44. The only contractual document referred in draft by the Committee to the General Assembly of the United Nations is, then, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII)) -- an instrument which, moreover, is still the subject of serious criticism by many States. Mexico is not among these. Having contributed what improvements it could to the text both in the Committee and in the debates in the second part of the General Assembly's twenty-second session, Mexico has already signed and ratified this Treaty; since, as we have stated repeatedly, my Government is convinced that an imperfect treaty which none the less represents the largest common denominator at present obtainable is better than no treaty at all.

45. However, this does not mean that we underestimate its importance and its genuine scope and meaning for disarmament. We know full well that in essence it is a treaty on the non-proliferation, not of nuclear weapons, but rather of States possessing them; that it does not entail a commitment to the total absence of nuclear weapons, as implied in the Treaty of Tlatelolco, since nothing in its text prohibits either the maintenance or indeed the increase of the arsenals of the nuclear Powers or the multiplication of nuclear bases on foreign territory. Hence the Treaty cannot be an end in itself but is merely a means to facilitate the adoption of the effective measures of nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament expressly provided for in its article VI, as well as those concerning the development of nuclear energy and the use of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes set forth in its articles IV and V.

46. The effectiveness of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is therefore still doubtful, since, as my delegation has often stated and states again today, in the final analysis its effectiveness will depend on the fulfilment by the nuclear Powers of the obligations imposed on them by those three articles. That fulfilment will be judged in due course by the conference of the Parties referred to in article VIII (3) of the Treaty, and before that, no doubt, by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its forthcoming sessions.

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47. Indeed, the non-nuclear weapon States, including the most fervent partisans of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, have never regarded and do not regard the Treaty as an instrument for perpetuating the division of the world into a small group of States which by some kind of divine right would be allowed unrestricted possession of nuclear weapons, and a large majority of States for whom their possession would be prohibited for ever. That is why the final fate of the Non-Proliferation Treaty is also at stake in the disarmament negotiations entrusted to our Committee.

48. Now that I have defined in this objective manner, without pessimism but also without undue optimism -- which unfortunately there is nothing to justify -- the meagre results so far achieved by the Committee, the time appears to have come to touch upon the fourth question to which I referred at the beginning of my statement. What are the main reasons for the meagreness of these results? In clarifying this point I shall be much more brief than in my clarification of the earlier points, since in the opinion of my delegation the trouble was very appropriately diagnosed by the representative of Sweden, Mrs. Myrdal, when during the debates in the First Committee of the General Assembly last November she said:

"The reason why ENDC -- and the same refers to the whole of the United Nations -- is not making much progress towards disarmament is, of course, that since the Moscow Treaty in 1963 the nuclear-weapon Powers have not wanted to agree to any real infringement on their freedom of action to continue the arms race, to produce and deploy nuclear weapons systems and to develop new ones; ... So the overriding, most imminent task must be for these Powers to make a concrete contribution towards disarmament. It is their turn to act.

"During the preparation of the non-proliferation Treaty, we, the non-nuclear-weapon Powers, were demanding 'tangible steps' to accompany or follow it. But no steps have so far been taken to accompany the readiness on the part of the majority of us to accept non-nuclearization of our military forces. No steps have been taken to 'follow'." (A/C.1/PV.1609, pp. 48-50, 52)

49. To the authoritative opinion which I have just quoted -- and I have learnt with satisfaction that Mrs. Myrdal, who used these words, will soon be amongst us -- I should like to add just one more, taken from the many of similar meaning which were uttered in the General Assembly. This was stated in the First Committee by the representative of one of the Latin-American States, who said:

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"Were a nuclear holocaust to take place and were the human race to re-emerge from the rubble and to find documents of the United Nations in the guise of old shards and old relics of ancient ages, that human being of the future might feel quite logically that the existing disagreement among the countries of this Organization caused that disaster, but unfortunately they would be wrong because we would not all be guilty. Those responsible would, in any case, have been those Powers I have just mentioned." (A/C.1/PV.1610, p.28-30)

50. The two quotations that I have just read are a sufficiently clear illustration, as all of us who have taken part in the work of the last session of the General Assembly know full well, of the general feeling manifested during those discussions on disarmament.

51. The facts I have mentioned provide, it seems to us, appropriate documentary material to enable us to consider in their light what we should do to remedy the rather disheartening situation at this session which is now beginning.

52. In this connexion it is worth distinguishing between what we regard as the inescapable duty of the nuclear Powers, and what could be done by non-nuclear-weapon States, particularly the members of the so-called group of non-aligned countries.

53. Concerning the former, the decisions of the General Assembly and those of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, as well as the agenda approved by this Committee on 15 August 1968 (ENDC/236, p.3), specify without the slightest shadow of doubt what the world expects of them. As long ago as last July the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union made public the agreement at which they had arrived to enter into bilateral discussions on the limitation of both offensive strategic nuclear weapon delivery systems and systems of defence against ballistic missiles. In view of the delay in giving effect to this agreement the General Assembly has, by its resolution 2456 D (XXIII), urged the Governments of these countries to start such discussions without delay.

54. The Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, for its part, in its resolution C, which undoubtedly contains one of the constructive proposals that was welcomed by the General Assembly in the resolution to which I have referred, suggested that the

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Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament should begin, not later than March 1969, to initiate negotiations with a view to transforming into reality a series of measures which in essence correspond to several of those that had been included by the Committee in its programme, namely:

"(a) The prevention of the further development and improvement of nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles;

"(b) The conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty, as an important step in the field of nuclear disarmament, and as a matter of high priority;

"(c) Reaching agreement on the immediate cessation of the production of fissile materials for weapons purposes and the stoppage of the manufacture of nuclear weapons;

"(d) The reduction and subsequent elimination of all stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems." (A/7277, p.7)

55. Apart from these measures calling for priority of attention, the agenda approved by the Committee for the present session contains several others, such as the creation of nuclear-free zones, the problem of chemical and microbiological weapons, the prevention of the arms race in what the Mexican delegation proposes should be called the "international submarine zone", and of course that which should be the final goal of all our endeavours: general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

56. As for the second category of Member States, to which I alluded a few moments ago, we consider likewise that it is easy to define the contribution expected of them: that they act as spokesmen for the conscience of mankind by repeatedly insisting on the imperative need for the nuclear Powers to translate into acts the intentions favourable to disarmament that they have so frequently and solemnly expressed; that they continue unremittingly to present constructive formulas which will help to narrow the gap and make it possible to harmonize the divergent views of those Powers; and that they make specific procedural suggestions, which frequently hold a key to facilitate the solution of problems of substance.

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57. In regard to such suggestions, I should like to recall that at the last General Assembly my delegation ventured to stress the desirability of the Committee making certain changes and adaptations in its method of work, such as increasing to three, and even to four if necessary, the twice-weekly meetings held hitherto; that the Committee should keep permanently on its agenda all questions to which priority has been given: that is to say, questions entailing true nuclear disarmament measures applicable to inhabited areas by man, in order that equal progress may be made on as many such measures as possible; and that when the representatives of the two States which hold the co-Chairmanship have to start active bilateral negotiations on an item, the Committee should not have to suspend its work for long periods, as happened several times during the discussion of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, but that it should be able to take up consideration of some other item; that, in addition to official meetings, informal meetings such as that of 8 August last should be held when they are deemed useful; and that, after a general discussion in plenary of items such as the peaceful uses of the international submarine zone and the prohibition of chemical and microbiological weapons, sub-committees or working groups should be entrusted with the study of such questions.

58. I have almost reached the end of my statement, but I should not like to conclude it without laying special stress on something which my delegation stated over a year ago in the United Nations and which I believe it would be pertinent to include in the records of this Committee; since, as the President of Mexico said on one occasion, "We are convinced that either the world will put an end to nuclear weapons or nuclear weapons will put an end to the world". We refuse to believe that the so-called deterrent power -- a formula that has regrettably been much abused -- of such weapons can be regarded as a positive factor justifying their existence. The fact that in the past twenty years we have had a precarious peace based on a frightening balance of terror is for us far from being a convincing argument.

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59. In the millions of years of pre-history which are usually divided into the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age it was enough for man to have the deterrent power of primitive weapons made from such materials; and during thousands of years of recorded history in which, we must not forget, for many periods over half a century long peace prevailed and the deterrent power never until quite recently went any further than the instruments of destruction, quite terrifying enough, that were based on TNT and dynamite. We cannot understand why today international peace and security should have to depend on weapons such as the nuclear weapons, the very existence of which entails the danger of universal suicide. Against the presumed need for the deterrent power of nuclear weapons we must set the very real need to evaluate the moral dissuasive power of all peoples of the world, who demand every day with greater urgency and less patience that an end be put to a situation which endangers nothing less than the very survival of the human species.

60. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): We have listened to the very detailed and interesting statement by the representative of Mexico, Mr. García Robles. The facts and opinions he put forward will be studied with the attention which they deserve.

61. Today the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament is resuming its work. It is faced with the primary task of contributing to the speediest possible implementation of the measures already agreed in the field of disarmament, and of reaching agreement on further steps to limit the arms race and on the preparation for that purpose of appropriate international agreements. The Committee, in approaching its work, has on the credit side the positive experience of the negotiations concerning the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (General Assembly resolution 2373 (XXII), Annex). That Treaty was approved by a substantial majority of the members of the United Nations and has now been signed by more than eighty States. The fact that many States have signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is convincing evidence that, with good will and the necessary efforts by the parties, the achievement of an agreement on the problems of slowing down the arms race, even though it may be difficult, is practicable.

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62. The agreement on the Non-Proliferation Treaty is the most important achievement in the negotiations on disarmament and the limitation of the arms race in the post-war period. That Treaty sets up a barrier to the spread of nuclear weapons on this planet, to the emergence of new nuclear States and to a consequent new, even more dangerous and costly round of the arms race. It is impossible not to realize that the proliferation of nuclear weapons would immeasurably increase the danger of a world nuclear conflict.

63. The conclusion of the Non-Proliferation Treaty serves the interests of all States, whether they are nuclear or non-nuclear, whether they are members of military groupings or are non-aligned countries, because that Treaty serves to strengthen peace on earth. Nobody will lose as a result of the conclusion of the Treaty; instead, all countries will gain.

64. The significance of the Non-Proliferation Treaty also lies in the fact that it opens the way to the solution of other problems in the field of disarmament. As we know, article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons imposes on the Parties to the Treaty the obligation to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. Thus the Treaty is destined to contribute substantially to agreement on and implementation of further measures in the field of disarmament. It is therefore essential that efforts should be made to ensure that the Treaty enters into force at an early date so as to facilitate the implementation of further steps in the field of disarmament.

65. In this connexion we cannot overlook the fact that the Non-Proliferation Treaty has not yet been signed by a number of States which, because of the level of their industrial and scientific development, are approaching the point where they would be able to start manufacturing nuclear weapons, and that there are certain circles in the world which are trying artificially to delay its entry into force. In a number of cases, political leaders and organs of the press attack the Treaty and carry on propaganda against it, thereby influencing the position of the hesitating countries. Any delay in the entry into force of the Treaty may create definite difficulties in resolving many questions relating to disarmament that are ripe for solution.

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66. The need to elaborate and agree upon further measures in the field of the limitation of armaments and of disarmament is indicated in the decisions of the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. Thus in resolution 2454 B (XXIII) the Eighteen-Nation Committee is requested -

"... to make renewed efforts towards achieving substantial progress in reaching agreement on the question of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, and urgently to analyse the plans already under consideration and others that might be put forward to see how in particular rapid progress could be made in the field of nuclear disarmament", [as well as] "to continue its urgent efforts to negotiate collateral measures of disarmament". (ENDC/237)

67. Taking into consideration the problem of ensuring the peace and security of peoples, the Soviet Government, as is well known, proposed on 1 July 1968 a Memorandum on Some Urgent Measures for Stopping the Arms Race and for Disarmament (ENDC/227). Among the measures proposed in the Memorandum a foremost place is given to measures for restraining the nuclear missile arms race, leading step by step to the prohibition of nuclear weapons altogether, the limitation and subsequent reduction of means of delivery of strategic weapons, and others. We are gratified to note that the Soviet Government's Memorandum attracted considerable attention in the Eighteen-Nation Committee and at the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, and we express the hope that the proposals contained in the Memorandum, which constitute a broad disarmament programme aimed at ensuring international peace and security, will be duly considered by the Eighteen-Nation Committee.

68. In determining the tasks of this session of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, we hold the view that efforts should be concentrated on the search for agreements in the field of nuclear disarmament. The enormous destructive power of these weapons is well known. Their use, particularly since their power has increased in recent years, would entail the loss of countless human lives. Noteworthy in this connexion is the report of the Secretary-General to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly on the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons. This report was mentioned by the representative of Mexico in his very detailed statement today. It notes that in the event of a nuclear war not only the direct participants but all countries of the world would suffer. It states:

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"The effects of all-out nuclear war, regardless of where it started, could not be confined to the Powers engaged in that war. They themselves would have to suffer the immediate kind of destruction and the immediate and more enduring lethal fall-out ... But neighbouring countries, and even countries in parts of the world remote from the actual conflict, could soon become exposed to the hazards of radio-active fall-out precipitated at great distances from the explosion, after moving through the atmosphere as a vast cloud." (A/6853, para.40)

69. The consideration of disarmament questions at the twenty-third session of the General Assembly and in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament showed that it was precisely the problem of nuclear disarmament that attracted the greatest attention of those who spoke. At the last session of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, it was agreed that the Committee would give priority in its work in the near future to further effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race and to nuclear disarmament. The Soviet Union, for its part, attaches great importance to this problem and is making every possible effort towards its rapid solution.

70. Among the collateral measures in the field of nuclear disarmament which require all-round consideration and solution there is, in the first place, the question of prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons. The importance of this measure is that it would put an end to nuclear weapons politically and pave the way to their physical destruction. The discussion of this question at sessions of the General Assembly and in the Eighteen-Nation Committee has shown that many States support the idea of a convention to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons, as proposed by the Soviet Union and urge the rapid implementation of this proposal.

71. In the matter of prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons, we could profit from the experience already existing in regard to prohibition of the use of another type of weapons of mass destruction, namely chemical and bacteriological weapons. Thus the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting the use of poison gas and bacteriological means of warfare proved its effectiveness during the Second World War, when Hitler, despite his contemptuous attitude towards the standards of international law, did not venture to use gas. We believe that the prohibition of nuclear weapons could have a similar restraining effect.

72. An undertaking by States not to use nuclear weapons would contribute to relaxation of international tension, to the establishment of a healthier international atmosphere

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and to the strengthening of confidence among States. This would unquestionably reduce the threat of nuclear war. The implementation of this measure would also be a serious restraining factor for those who count upon the use of nuclear weapons to achieve their political and military aims. Prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons would be a measure that would eliminate the question of the possibility of nuclear blackmail of a non-nuclear country. In fact it would promote developments which would lead to the liquidation of the so-called nuclear club and to the removal of the differences between States which derive from possession or non-possession of nuclear weapons. It would result in non-nuclear States receiving additional security guarantees against a nuclear attack or the threat of such attack.

73. Prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons would not be linked with such difficulties as the establishment of control, inspection and so on. All that is required is the willingness of States to renounce the military use of nuclear energy.

74. Next comes that important measure the prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Implementation of this measure would radically solve the problem of reducing and eliminating the danger of a nuclear war. The elimination of nuclear weapons, that is, the complete destruction of all stockpiles of atomic and hydrogen bombs, would crown the process of nuclear disarmament, thus freeing mankind from the threat of nuclear annihilation. The Soviet Union attaches primary importance to this problem and is prepared to conduct negotiations on nuclear disarmament questions, in the belief that during such negotiations agreement could be reached both on a whole set of measures leading to the destruction of nuclear weapons, and on some of them that would lead to this objective.

75. Among the major problems on the Committee's agenda there is also the question of the cessation of nuclear-weapon tests, which should be considered within the context of nuclear disarmament measures. The twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted great attention to this problem, and requested the Committee "to take up as a matter of urgency the elaboration of a treaty banning underground nuclear-weapon tests ... " (General Assembly resolution 2455 (XXIII); ENDC/237). The search for a solution to the problem of banning underground nuclear-weapon tests has been going on for a long time. The Soviet Union's position on this problem is well known:

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we have consistently advocated a complete ban on all nuclear weapon tests, including underground tests. This position was restated once again in the Memorandum by the Government of the USSR on some urgent measures for stopping the arms race and for disarmament of 1 July 1968, in which the Soviet Government expressed its willingness to reach agreement on the banning of underground nuclear weapon tests on the basis of the use of national means of detection to control observance of the ban.

76. In this connexion it should be emphasized that, in view of the present level of development of seismic means of detection, no country would be able to explode a nuclear weapon underground without exposing itself as a violator of an international treaty. In the opinion of the scientists of many countries, an opinion corroborated by practice, no one could seriously count on exploding a nuclear weapon underground and expect to escape detection. The only trouble appears to be that some governments are not yet prepared to discontinue underground nuclear weapon tests.

77. Among modern types of weapons some of the most dangerous are chemical and bacteriological weapons. In expressing the grave concern of the peoples of the world about the possibility of the use of such weapons as a means of warfare, the United Nations General Assembly has repeatedly emphasized the need to ban chemical and bacteriological weapons and to ensure the strict implementation by all States of the Geneva Protocol of 1925.

78. The study at present being carried out by a group of experts appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the possible consequences of the use of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons will certainly be useful in that it will draw the attention of world public opinion to the serious and urgent nature of this problem. We hope that the work of the experts will be a useful contribution to the solution of the question of a complete ban on chemical and bacteriological weapons.

79. This work is being carried out as a result of an initiative taken within our Committee. This confirms the fact that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament is entrusted with the task of continuing the consideration of this problem with a view to securing compliance by all States with the Geneva Protocol banning the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons.

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80. We should now like to state the position of the Soviet Union on the question of prohibiting the use of the sea-bed and ocean floor for military purposes. The difficulties involved in stopping the arms race where it is already going on are one of the reasons in favour of not allowing this race to spread to those environments which used to be inaccessible for human activities but are now being gradually opened up through the achievements of science and technology. International practice has shown the practicability and importance of carrying out disarmament measures in environments new to mankind, such as Antarctica, which under the Treaty of 1959 is being used exclusively for peaceful purposes; and also outer space in regard to which a number of demilitarization measures were embodied in the Treaty of 1967 (General Assembly resolution 2222 (XXI), Annex). We consider that the time has come to study on the practical level the question of concluding a treaty on prohibition of the use for military purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the sub-soil thereof.

81. The United Nations General Assembly, in its resolution 2340 (XXII), pointed out the necessity of finding a positive solution to this question, having noted that developing technology is making the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the sub-soil thereof accessible and exploitable for military purposes. There can be no doubt that the use of the sea-bed for military purposes would step up the arms race and thus increase the danger of war, which would run counter to the interests of the peoples of the world. The prohibition of the use for military purposes of the sea-bed would at the same time be a necessary prerequisite for the successful development of international co-operation in opening up that environment for peaceful purposes.

82. Guided by those considerations, the Soviet Government proposed last year that the United Nations General Assembly should call upon all States to use the sea-bed and the ocean floor exclusively for peaceful purposes, and that it should instruct the eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to consider as an urgent measure the question of prohibiting the use of the sea-bed for military purposes. In the Memorandum by the Government of the USSR on disarmament of 1 July 1968 it is noted that-

"The progress of research and the prospects for the development of the sea-bed and the ocean floor make it possible to raise the question of giving timely expression in appropriate form, to a régime such as would ensure the utilization of the sea-bed beyond the limits of the present territorial waters solely for peaceful purposes. That would, in particular, involve the prohibition of the establishment of fixed military installations on the sea-bed, as well as other activities of a military nature."

(ENDC/227, p.5).

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83. The discussion at sessions of the United Nations General Assembly and in its subsidiary bodies of the question of preserving the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof exclusively for peaceful purposes has shown that the proposal of the USSR to prohibit the military use of the sea-bed has gained the wide support of States, which realize that the vital interests of the peoples of the world are involved. Many delegations have rightly pointed out that, unless effective measures in this field are taken in good time, it will be much more difficult to do so later on. In advocating the use of the sea-bed exclusively for peaceful purposes, the States interested in solving this problem have in mind that such use should preclude all forms of military activity on the sea-bed and should entail prohibition of the use of the sea-bed for military purposes.

84. The recognition by a large number of States of the urgent need to prohibit the military use of the sea-bed and ocean floor makes it necessary to proceed without further delay to the elaboration of an appropriate international agreement. On the instructions of the Soviet Government we are today submitting for the consideration of the Eighteen-Nation Committee a draft treaty on prohibition of the use for military purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof (ENDC/240).

85. The Soviet draft treaty derives from the desire to contribute to the implementation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter in respect of activities on the sea-bed. This draft is based on the conviction expressed by the United Nations General Assembly that the prohibition of the military use of the sea-bed and the ocean floor serves the interests of maintaining world peace, reduces the arms race, promotes the relaxation of international tension and strengthens confidence among States.

86. For these purposes the Soviet Union proposes that it be prohibited to place on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof objects with nuclear weapons or any other types of weapons of mass destruction, and to set up military bases, structures, installations, fortifications and other objects of a military nature. All installations and structures on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof should be open on the basis of reciprocity to representatives of other States.

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87. During the discussion on the question of prohibiting the military use of the sea-bed and ocean floor it has become evident that certain difficulties stand in the way of a solution of this problem, owing to differences of views concerning the limits of the territorial waters of States, the concept of national jurisdiction, the limits of the continental shelf, and so forth. The Soviet draft treaty proposes a new approach to the question of what part of the surface of the sea-bed and ocean floor should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. We propose that this area should cover the whole of the sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the twelve-mile maritime zone of coastal States. This approach eliminates legal issues and makes it possible to cover to the maximum extent the area of the sea-bed subject to demilitarization. In fact, it is a matter of preventing the military use of the sea-bed and ocean floor throughout their geographical extent, that is, the demilitarization of two-thirds of the surface of the earth.

88. The Soviet delegation will endeavour to achieve in the Eighteen-Nation Committee the speediest possible agreement on the question of prohibiting the military use of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof. We hope that all delegations will manifest a desire to co-operate with a view to the solution of this important problem, and that the Eighteen-Nation Committee will make a real contribution to its achievement.

89. Those are the problems and proposals which the Soviet delegation is submitting for the consideration of the Eighteen-Nation Committee. In doing so we bear in mind that the Committee has before it a number of other questions to which appropriate attention should be devoted. Thus the General Assembly has requested the Committee to consider the question of eliminating military bases in foreign territories. This question also is put forward in the Memorandum of the Soviet Union on disarmament. Attention should be devoted to questions of regional disarmament, such as the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. The implementation of this measure would reduce international tension, limit the sphere of proliferation of nuclear weapons and serve the cause of peace. We also have before us the problem of prohibiting flights of aircraft with nuclear weapons on board beyond the national frontiers of States.

(Mr. Roshchin, USSR)

90. Our goal is to reach agreement on the most important problems of limiting the arms race, and eventually on general and complete disarmament, which the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world desire. The Soviet Union, for its part, believes that the implementation of separate partial measures to limit the arms race should pave the way to the accomplishment of the main task --- to secure general and complete disarmament in the interests of peace and the progress of the whole of mankind.

91. Mr. FRAZAO (Brazil) (translation from French): I have asked to speak, Mr. Chairman, in order to thank you for the kind words you addressed to me, and also to thank our distinguished co-Chairmen, the representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America.

92. I do not think it necessary to stress the interest which my Government has always taken in the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee. From the outset the presence of Brazil has been a feature of the debates which have taken place here -- a constructive and active presence always directed towards solutions capable of responding to the great hopes which the international community places in our ability to bring to a successful issue the efforts towards the supreme objective assigned to us: general and complete disarmament.

93. Personally I consider it an honour to be able to take part in this work; and I hope I shall be able to contribute, as my predecessors have done, to the study of the serious problems which the Committee has placed on its agenda, and to the solutions which it will put forward to strengthen international peace and security.

94. I take this opportunity to add my welcome to that already extended to Ambassador Gerard Smith, the distinguished representative of the United States and our new co-Chairman. Mr. Gerard Smith's name has been well known since the 1950s to those who have been concerned, professionally or personally, with questions relating to disarmament. I am sure that he will maintain the high traditions of statesmanship established by his predecessor, Ambassador Foster, in guiding our deliberations.

95. I take pleasure in associating myself with all the words of welcome addressed to Ambassador Ignatieff, whom the Government of Canada has chosen from among so many eminent personalities to represent it in our Committee, and to Ambassador Klusák, the representative of Czechoslovakia. Their presence will no doubt contribute to enhancing still further, if that is possible, the spirit of co-operation and the political level of the Committee's deliberations.

96. Mr. IGNATIEFF (Canada): At the risk of prolonging these proceedings, I should not like this opportunity to pass without expressing to you, Sir, to the co-Chairmen and to the representatives of Mexico and Brazil my thanks for the words of welcome expressed to me as the "new boy" of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. Because of my previous association with disarmament in negotiations in other places I fully realize the heavy responsibility which membership of this Committee incurs. In my case it is particularly difficult to step into the shoes of such a knowledgeable and distinguished representative as General Burns, who served in this Committee for a long time.

97. Finally, I should like to express greetings to my colleagues, both old and new, and to say how much the messages which we have heard from the Secretary-General, the President of the United States of America and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union who served to set the work of the Committee at its very outset on a realistic and fruitful course. I should like to associate myself with all those who have expressed thanks for those messages. I look forward to working with the Committee.

98. Mr. LAHODA (Czechoslovakia): May I, on behalf of the leader of the Czechoslovak delegation, Mr. Klusák, who will join us later, thank you, Mr. Chairman, and the representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States, Mexico and Brazil for the kind words of welcome extended to Mr. Klusák in his absence?

99. The CHAIRMAN (Burma): I should like to recall that on 6 August 1968 the Committee approved the following statement made on behalf of the co-Chairmen:

"The co-Chairmen have been giving consideration to ways in which the available time of the Committee may be used to maximum advantage so as to give all members a full opportunity of presenting their views on any subject relating to disarmament which they consider merits attention.

"The co-Chairmen have noted the need for adequate time for informal discussions among the delegations in order to lay the basis for further progress in our work. They have also noted the suggestions for an additional formal meeting each week. If members of the Committee wish to speak on Wednesday, such additional meetings may be arranged."

(ENDC/PV.387, para.42)

(The Chairman, Burma)

100. The co-Chairmen have suggested that the same procedural arrangements should be followed at this session. If there are no objections or comments, I shall take it that the Committee decides to follow the same practice during this session.

It was so decided.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 395th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador U Chit Myaing, representative of Burma.

"The Special Representative of the Secretary-General made a statement and conveyed a message to the Conference from the Secretary-General.

"The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics made a statement and conveyed a message to the Conference from Mr. A.N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

"The representative of the United States made a statement and conveyed a message to the Conference from President Richard M. Nixon.

"The Chairman also made a statement.

"After the conclusion of the open part of the meeting statements were made by the representatives of Mexico, the Soviet Union, Brazil, Canada and Czechoslovakia.

"The following documents were tabled:

"1. Letter dated 15 February 1969 from the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the co-Chairmen of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament Transmitting Resolutions 2454 (XXIII) A and B, 2455 (XXIII) and 2456 (XXIII), A, B, C and D. (ENDC/237).

"2. Message from Mr. A.N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC/238).

"3. Letter from Mr. Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, to Mr. Gerard C. Smith (ENDC/239).

"4. Draft Treaty on the Prohibition of the Use for Military Purposes of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and the Subsoil Thereof, submitted by the delegation of the USSR (ENDC/240).

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Thursday, 20 March 1969, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.

